

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



## **RELEASE FORM**

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**APPROVAL FORM**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The signing of the Lancaster agreement in 1979 led to Land reform in Zimbabwe and to an effort to more equitably distribute land between the historically disenfranchised blacks and the minority whites who ruled Southern Rhodesia from 1890 to 1979. The distribution of land that was held by the government was the most crucial and most bitterly contested political issue surrounding Zimbabwe. The land reform can be divided into two phase's form 1979 to 1997 where the principle of willing and buyer seller was useful with economic help from Britain and secondly beginning in 2000, the fast track land reform program. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme implemented in an accelerated manner in Zimbabwe during 2000-2002 resulted in a major and drastic reconfiguration of land use and ushered in a new regime of gender relations on land. Although much has been documented about the fast track land reform programme, the gendered outcomes of the programme, especially the consequences on different categories of women still remain an inadequately researched area. This study is a gender analysis of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe as a country that inherited colonially structured and unequal land ownership patterns. The primary purpose of the study was to make a critical evaluation of the distribution of land between men and women under the fast track land reform programme using a gender approach. The study used survey data collected by the African Institute of Agrarian Studies and qualitative data gathered in Goromonzi District. The qualitative data were collected using questionnaire interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analysis in order to support the evidence. The study did not find evidence of the discrimination of married women. The study revealed that women enjoyed the same land rights as men in land resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe. Women were assigned land rights as individuals and through joint registration of offer letters with their husbands. The study recommended that there should be legal recognition of dual-headed households in the land redistribution programme. The allocation of land under the land reform programme should focus on individuals within households. Methods should be devised to inform women about their land rights and the avenues through which these rights can be enforced. Future research should focus on the security of women's land rights in the event of divorce.

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this research to my parents, my siblings for their unending support throughout my seemingly insurmountable academic journey and God Almighty for taking me this far. I appreciate your unfailing love towards me.

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In completion of this project, I would like to thank God for making it possible for me to complete this study and I am greatly indebted to my supervisor and mentor Mr Chilunjika, for his expert guidance and positive criticisms in the preparation of this project. My sincere gratitude goes to my family for their moral, spiritual and financial support and for believing in me, your prayers were not in vain. I would also like to thank my fellow classmates for their support.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AIAS</b>	African Institute of Agrarian Studies
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>COHRE</b>	Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organisations
<b>FTLRP</b>	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
<b>GOZ</b>	Government of Zimbabwe
<b>GRDC</b>	Goromonzi Rural District Council
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organisation
<b>LSCF</b>	Large Scale Commercial Farms
<b>MDC</b>	Movement for Democratic Change
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SSCF</b>	Small Scale Commercial Farms
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNECA</b>	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
<b>WID</b>	Women in Development
<b>WLZ</b>	Women and Land in Zimbabwe
<b>ZANU-PF</b>	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
<b>ZCDT</b>	Zimbabwe Community Development Trust
<b>ZIMSTAT</b>	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
<b>ZWRCN</b>	Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1. Introduction**

This chapter introduces the study on the role of women the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. This will be premised on various issues which include the background of the problem in which case the two phases of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme would be discussed so as to lay the foundation on which the study would be based. The objectives of the study, statement of the problem, the significance of the study as well as the delimitations and the limitations of the study will be discussed and at the end of the chapter there is an outline of the whole study.

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Land is an important resource especially for an agricultural economy. It constitutes the primary form of wealth and source of economic and political power (Deere and Doss, 2006). The policies and efforts that have been implemented for the land reform and resettlement programme in Zimbabwe since independence include the launching of the first phase which included two methods of acquiring land namely land acquisition through the market (willing seller-willing buyer principle) and compulsory land acquisition. These policies have been continuously highly masculinized and women's land concerns are side-lined. The land reform and resettlement programme of 1980-1997 which is the first phase was gender-blind (Gaidzanwa, 1988). The First Phase of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme was launched in September 1980. This method of land acquisition was first used in 1980 in accordance with the Lancaster House Constitution (1979) which governed the country for the first ten years from 1980. The Land Acquisition Act (1985) gave the government the first

right to purchase excess land for redistribution and provided for compulsory acquisition of underutilised land.

The second method of the Compulsory Land Acquisition, the scale and pace at which the government used compulsory methods to acquire land from white commercial farmers had been minimal (Lebert, 2003). This was largely due to weaknesses in the laws governing land acquisition (Moyo, 2000). In 1990 the willing seller, willing buyer clause in the Lancaster House Constitution expired. The government amended the Constitution (Zimbabwe Amendment Act No. 11) and all land, not just under-utilised land was subject to compulsory acquisition. In addition, all land for sale was to be offered to the government first before being sold to a third party. The Government was expected to pay “fair compensation” within a “reasonable time” as opposed to “prompt and adequate compensation” as previously stipulated by the Lancaster House Constitution. The new constitutional framework was followed by The Land Acquisition Act (1992), which implemented the principles set out in the amended constitution. The constitution was further amended twice in 1993 (Zimbabwe Amendment Act Nos. 12 & 13). Despite these amendments, not much progress was made in terms of the land rights of women in Zimbabwe.

In 1990, the government embarked on a commercial resettlement programme. By 1994 the government had acquired about 400 farms but the bulk of those farms went to senior ZANU-PF party officials and members of the ICFU (Indigenous Commercial Farmers Union) (Masiiwa and Chipungu, 2004). In 1997 compulsory land acquisition was attempted on 1,471 farms and out of these only 109 were eventually purchased on offer while the rest were delisted by the government on appeal or the government failed to file papers on time or were successfully contested in the courts by the white commercial farmers (GOZ, 1998; Moyo, 2000).

First Phase of Land Reform and Resettlement Programme came to an end in 1997 (GOZ, 1998c; Walker, 2002). The selection criteria of beneficiaries during that period targeted household heads who, in the majority of cases were male, without proper investigation of equity and economic rights of women. A survey of couples who benefited from showed that 98 per cent of resettlement permits given for crop and grazing land were held by husbands against a mere two per cent by wives (Gaidzanwa, 1988; Peters and Peters, 1998; COHRE, 2004). By registering the farm holding in the name of the male head of the household, this first phase of the land reform ignored women's land rights and well-being in the event of marriage dissolution through death, divorce, widowhood or abandonment.

The country has faced a challenge to redistribute land equitably and it is a matter of concern in analysing the socio-economic and political consequences of the land reform programme for women. The country's agricultural sector is in crisis, social sectors such as health and education have collapsed and the majority of the population is struggling to put food on the table. The women and land lobby group (WLLG) 2001 in Zimbabwe noted that at least 75% of the population is living below the poverty datum line of which women are the majority. The number of rural poor and the percentage of rural poor below the poverty datum line increased by 5.6% and to 52% respectively between 1995 and 2006 (Goredema 2013). The situation is partly an outcome of the fast track land reform programme which began in 2000 and was officially declared over in 2003. The land reform represents a break from the past land reform policies in Zimbabwe, its nature and impacts still arouse a lot of debates years after it has been declared officially over. The land reform remains a principal factor in understanding the economic collapse, political instability, social differentiation and marginalization in the country.

According to Nzioki (2001), despite their substantial role in agriculture, women have less access to the means of production, such as land, capital, credit and technology than men and

are marginalised in production. Where women own land, the landholding tends to be smaller and located in more marginal areas (FAO, 2003). Secure land ownership increases women's incentives for agricultural investments, leading to higher productivity (Jacoby, Guo, and Scott, 2002). In addition, secure land rights for women will mean that women cannot be dispossessed of their land in the event of widowhood, divorce and abandonment. In rural Zimbabwe, where traditional authorities have greater influence over land allocation, it shows that widows and divorcees were denied access to land (ZWRCN, 1998).

In this regard, this research will examine that, if women were so important in agriculture, how come they appeared to be subordinated to men in the process of articulation of cross-gender relations? Were women really marginalised during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme? Are women's rights to land secure in Zimbabwe? This research will also add to some understanding of some of the realities women face in accelerated state-led policies, especially when the state is facing legitimacy crisis and oppositional politics.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

According to Chaumba et al (2003), much has been documented about the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) the gender aspect has not received the attention it deserved. Female land beneficiaries are less than 20 per cent in A1 schemes (GOZ, 2003). Married women are missing from these land portions. Access to and control over land for the household does not imply the same for the different individuals inside the household, especially women. The literature that was established argues that the FTLRP was gender selective (UNDP, 2002). However, the extent to which this was the case as well as to why this varied in certain areas had not been thoroughly investigated. Previous studies blamed customary law as the main reason for the exclusion of women from the FTLRP (Chingarande, 2008; Mgugu and Chimonyo, 2004; UNDP, 2002) The previous studies did

not establish the relative importance of the factors that prolonged discrimination in land access, use and control between men and women and also failed to measure the gender-land gap in the resettlement areas. This study will contribute to fill this literature gap.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The specific objectives of the study included the following:

- To describe land access and control between men and women in Zimbabwe.
- To assess if women have the same land rights as men in Zimbabwe.
- To identify household factors that determined the security of women's land rights in Zimbabwe.
- To proffer recommendations on improving land ownership among women in Zimbabwe.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. How can land access and control between men and women be characterised in Zimbabwe?
2. Do women in Zimbabwe have the same land rights as men?
3. What are the household factors that determine the security of women land rights in Zimbabwe?
4. How can land ownership among women be enhanced in Zimbabwe?

### **1.5 Justification for the Study**

This research on the land reform and resettlement programme in Zimbabwe would help the government and aid organisations to identify structural inequalities and factors that constrain

equal access to and control over land between men and women. Gender analysis in the distribution of land between men and women could help to understand the ensuing household relations and expose gender-specific barriers which may prevent women and men from benefiting from the land reform programme equally. Given the importance of women in agriculture and the government's commitment to gender equality, it is important to understand how women's access to land was addressed during the land reform process and how institutional reforms have benefited or disadvantaged women. This means that the study could assist NGOs involved in women empowerment and advocacy to influence policy in the planning and design of socio-economic programmes that would benefit men and women equally.

It was important to examine the distribution of assets and in particular land by gender because gender is one dimension along which inequality still exists. There are several branches of feminism that seek to explain the sources of inequality between men and women and how to empower women. Whereas liberal feminists focus on the work place and legal changes, radical feminists focus on the patriarchal family as the key site of domination and oppression (Shelton and Agger, 1993). Radical feminism recommends the uprooting and reconstruction of society (Frazier, 2008). Marxist feminism links women subordination to class based capitalism and its alignment with patriarchal family in capitalistic societies (Shelton and Agger, 1993). Feminism is a fluid discipline and more variants continue to develop. For example, global feminism contends that no woman is free until the conditions that oppress women worldwide are eliminated (Bunch, 1993) while ecofeminism connects the degradation and oppression of women with the degradation of the ecosystem (Shelton and Agger, 1993). This study would identify and analyse sources of discrimination in the allocation of land between men and women during the fast track land reform programme.

The study also can contribute to the discourse on the FTLRP and, therefore, enhance the nation's knowledge about the programme's impact on gender relations, and women empowerment. The study also identified areas where further research may be required on equal access to and control over land between men and women. Thus research seeks to add to the knowledge that exist in Zimbabwe in relation to the land reform and resettlement programme and how the programme involve women theoretically and practically which exists in books, articles and reports, and is to a certain level not amassed.

### **1.6 Limitations**

The limitations of the study includes the factors that there is a high degree of political tension in the areas in which land reform and resettlement took place , thus it is was difficult to get truthful information from participants in fear that the information will be used for political reasons. Hence fear of victimisation will be high. There was the reluctance of farmers to release information in the fear that their names will be disclosed. Also the shortage of funds was another limitation to the study. The use of qualitative research method was also another limitation because of less time on the study. Lastly some of the areas were not easily accessible by the researcher.

### **1.7 Delimitations of the Study**

The study considered how the state distributed arable land as part of the land reform process. Land reform in this study referred specifically to government policies that intended to redistribute the whole or part of the bundle of property rights on land from white commercial farmers to indigenous black Zimbabweans during the period 2000-2002. The nature and content of land rights vary across and within countries. These can be individual freehold property rights, use rights in state owned land and legally recognised customary rights.



In this study, the focus was on use rights in state-owned land (resettlement land) and a critical evaluation on whether these rights were differentiated and distributed on the basis of sex in Zimbabwe. The study will use both survey data (from six provinces) and case study data from Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province. The study was largely confined to household gender analysis in relation to access to and control over land. The analysis was based on farms acquired by the Government under the FTLRP, 2000-2002. The findings of the study were interpreted within the context of smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe.

### **1.8 Structure of the Study**

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one provides the introduction to the study. The background section comprises an introduction to Zimbabwe's land reform programme. These are important in understanding the current distribution of land in the country. The chapter includes the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions and justification for the study. The limitations and delimitations of the study are outlined and discussed.

Chapter Two provides literature review on land redistribution by the Land and Resettlement Programme between men and women and it identifies the research gap filled by the study. It contains the conceptual framework of the study and covers relevant information on the distribution and the access to and control of land between men and women in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Three provides the research methodology. The chapter explains how the study was undertaken in order to answer the research problem. This involves a discussion on research design, sample selection, data collection methods, data analysis as well as ethical conduct during the study.

Chapter four deals with the presentation and analysis of findings of the study. This includes data presentation and analysis and an explanation of the research findings.

Chapter Five contains evaluation of the findings and a general summary of the study. From the evaluation and analysis of the findings there are broad conclusions of the research, the study's specific policy recommendations and future research directions are presented in this chapter.

Lastly, references and appendix follow to complete the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **2. Introduction**

This chapter seeks to review the related literature that is relevant in the analysis of the land and resettlement programme in Zimbabwe. The review includes the historical approaches to gender relations on land in Zimbabwe by other researchers, the concepts and objectives of land reform and its implications on gender relations in Zimbabwe. It also provides a literature survey on the distribution, access and control of land between men and women in resettlement areas. This is essential as it sets out the conceptual framework for the assessment of the land rights between men and women in Zimbabwe.

#### **2.1 Historical Perspective of Gender and Land Ownership in Zimbabwe**

The gendered discourses on access, ownership and control of land in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial societies in Zimbabwe are still controversial. Therefore, the complication of gender dimensions in land ownership needs to be understood historically taking into account the long term changes in the pre-colonial and colonial periods as well as the immediate history of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). This helped to bring into sharp focus the nature of gender relations over land in the past and how they have changed over time in Zimbabwe and bringing out the importance of land rights. There are difficulties concerning pre-colonial gender relations not only in Zimbabwe but the whole of Africa. According to Okpeh Jnr, (2007) the significance and status of women in Africa before the advent of colonialism has not been sufficiently analysed due to the dearth of source materials. Western literature reflects a deep-seated prejudgment against African women in particular and the continent. In Zimbabwe, most historical information about women in the pre-colonial

and colonial periods was produced by men, often of a different culture whose biases are quite obvious (Cheater, 1986).

In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, the economy was based on agriculture (Cheater, 1986; Masiiwa and Chipungu, 2004) and was supplemented by trade, hunting and craft production. The nature of agricultural practices had serious consequences on gender relations and division of labour within and among households. The land tenure system was communal and the land was vested in the chief. Peters and Peters, (1998) assert that the chief allocated land to the headmen who in turn held all village lands in the family name and distributed land as necessary to male members of the lineage and perhaps with the consent of the chief to male non-lineage members. Women were economically active in agriculture and craft production, they had control over grain stores, could own livestock and provided labour; they were excluded from access to land in their own right (Cheater 1986). Men had primary rights to land while women had secondary rights to land through their husbands or male relative(s) Makura-Paradza (2010). According to Cheater (1986) the payment of the bride wealth (*roora* in Shona and *lobola* in Ndebele) did not only transfer rights in a woman's labour and reproductive capacity from her own family to that of her husband, but also insured her family for this loss.

Hilhorst, (2000), secondary rights to land applied to family fields, common land and in some cases a plot of land women could use as "their own" and from which the benefits of the produce would be brought to the family group as a whole. This opinion is supported by Adepelumi (2007) who argues that pre-colonial African women had the right to profit from their labour although the profit usually served as a contribution to the family income. According to Peters and Peters, (1998) in Zimbabwe, women were expected to produce subsistence crops such as maize and women's crops such as beans, groundnuts, potatoes and pumpkins on women's plots. In the event of widowhood or divorce or husband taking on

another wife, the wife continued to have access to land as a secondary right. A woman risked being forced off the land she had been allowed to use if she refused to be “inherited” by her late husband’s brother (Hilhorst, 2000).

Cheater, (1986) propounds that the gendered pattern of access to and control over land was reflected in the division of labour between men and women. Adult males cleared virgin lands for cultivation and planted crops, traded in specific commodities (like iron tools, gold and copper for cloth) and hunted wild animals. Gold mining was a seasonal activity. Thus women provided much of the labour required for these occupations. According to Mazarire, (2003), adult women participated in hunting and environmental conservation in pre-colonial Chivi District in Zimbabwe. Also, the Shona society in general, and that of Chivi in particular, acknowledged women’s importance in sustaining human and agricultural fertility, but this importance was downplayed and subsumed under male hegemony. Mgugu and Chimonyo, (2004). Cited that there are very few cases where land was allocated directly to women in Africa.

The gendered patterns of landownership during the European colonial Period, 1890-1980, according to Tshuma, (1998), did not only involve land alienation but a deliberate restructuring of customary land tenure system of the indigenous people. Pre-colonial gender relations were weakened by education, migration, urbanisation and religious conversion which saw some women leaving the patrilineal relationships (Makura-Paradza, 2010). Gaidzanwa (1994) observes that in the colonial era, women who were orphaned, had weak ties with men, were vulnerable and tended to migrate out of the communal areas to urban areas as they could not manage without marital relationships to men.

In Zimbabwe, women were left in native reserves as subsistence farmers while their men were taken away to commercial centres as labourers ( Raftopolous and Phimister, 1997). This male labour migration increased the burden of women in native reserves. According to Schmidt (1992), women remained in the native reserves in order to guarantee secondary rights to land and to help maintain kinship ties. A combination of taxes (for example, hut tax and dog tax) and a range of administrative policies were used to cripple peasant production and force African farmers off their land into white owned large scale commercial farms (Deininger et al., 2002). It was sometimes made a condition of employment that male workers recruited from native reserves should also make their wives available for unpaid agricultural work (Amanor-Wilks, 1996).

Legislation was another tool that was used by the white settlers to restructure the customary land tenure system. For example, despite an shortage of land in the native reserves, the land tenure resembled pre-colonial holdings where land was distributed according to the patrilineal way by male chiefs (Peters and Peters, 1998). According to Jacobs (1992), while married women continued to receive secondary rights to land through their husbands, land was allocated chiefly for subsistence and cash crops and women were rarely granted plots. Meanwhile, unmarried women received land through their patrilineages while young and unwed women were rarely allocated land in the native reserves. Freehold land titles were created specifically for blacks in the Native Purchase Areas, (Madhuku 2004). Moyo (1995b) argues that the Native Purchase Areas were intended to expect Black Nationalism and women were not directly targeted in their own right-although some women benefitted only as housewives.

The modification in property relations required a conforming legal adjustment to accommodate customary law with respect to inheritance. For example, the Native Wills Act (1933) permitted property to be devolved by will and clearly stated that in the event of

intestacy the heir at customary law should succeed in his individual capacity to immovable property (Cheater, 1986). According to Jacobs (1990) women were regarded as minors and were unable to enter into contracts or to represent themselves in court without permission of and representation by a male guardian. By labelling and registering land, colonial governments eliminated the importance of secondary rights of women to access land and men increased their control over land (Tripp 2012).

Under the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) land was allocated and registered in the male heads of households (Gaidzanwa, 1994). According to Moyo (1995b), until 1982 the colonial state used traditional governance structures (chiefs, headmen) as the basis for the local land management systems. This was intended to replicate customary norms of land administration with the male-headed family as the centre-piece of land use and distribution systems in communal areas in 1981. According to Mararike (1996), unmarried women and women in polygamous marriages were not allocated land. The National Land Husbandry Act also dispossessed women of grazing rights for cattle (Peters and Peters, 1998) as women who owned livestock could not register them in their own right since they did not have registered land rights (Cheater, 1986).

It is clear from the literature that women's status to land was not equal with that of men in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Women's access to land was based on their status within the family and involved rights of use and not ownership. Also Customary law excluded women from ownership as the land was vested in man so that it could pass through the patrilineal group (FAO, 2010c). This also illustrates that the land rights are important as they give one the power over the social economic and political issues. However, in practice, as long as the land was available, women seem not to have been completely left out from land use in pre-colonial Zimbabwe.

The above discussion also validates that colonialism eroded and changed customary land tenure systems in ways that were disadvantageous to women (Adepelumi, 2007). Despite women's centrality to agricultural production in practice but not necessarily ordained by law as heads of households in the native reserves, they were denied primary land rights which continued to be devolved in their relocated husbands. Also according to Adepelumi, (2007), the disempowerment of the African women was not only restricted to access to land but was extended to the labour market where they were paid at the bottom of the scale. Did the Fast Track Land Reform Programme improve married women's access to and control over land in Zimbabwe? The next section examines the concept of the empowerment of women through land ownership and the status of women in the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

## **2.2 Land Reform and the Status of Women**

The model of land reform and its effects to Zimbabwe, according to Zarin and Bujang, 1994, the neoclassical theory of land reform looks at land reform as an integral part of the strategy and policy of economic development. The beginning of the Human Development Paradigm and the concept of human poverty in the 1990s led to a shift from the emphasis on economic growth and efficiency as the goals and measures of economic development, to being equity, dignity and fundamental human freedoms to develop and realise one's human potential, (Elson and Çagatay, 2000). According to the Human Development Perspective, the distinct areas central to development include life expectancy; maternal health and safety; health care in general; educational opportunities; gender equality; access to sanitation and safe drinking water and access to the political process. In this view of development, gender equality is a core objective in itself. If gender equality is a significant component of economic development, was the distribution of land during the FTLRP executed in a gender sensitive manner?



Zarin and Bujang, (1994), observe that they are motives of land reform; these include economic, social and political. The main economic basis for land reform lies in the opposite relationship between farm size and productivity where for given technology levels, small farms are more efficient than large farms due to higher density of management coupled with motivated family labour available on a continuous basis (Deininger et al., 2002). The inverse-farm-size-productivity relationship estimates output per acre as a function of total farm size. There is little evidence of a negative relationship between farm size and productivity (Deininger et al., 2002). According to Zarin and Bujang, (1994) the social motive is concerned with social equality or social justice. Equity considerations create the need for land reform especially in countries like Zimbabwe, where agriculture is the main source of livelihoods and where a majority of the population have been denied access to and ownership of land. The available literature on poverty traps shows that under certain circumstances a redistribution of assets (including land) leads to both greater equity and higher production (Deininger et al., 2002).

According to Zarin and Bujang (1994), the political motive is often considered as the last resort but in most cases tends to be the most decisive, also many governments use land reform or the promise of it to gain or retain power. In Zimbabwe, the ZANU-PF Government used land reform to retain power in 1990 (Madhuku, 2004). According to Walker (2002), the political objective may be major in order to reduce conflict or redress past injustices as with the land restitution programme in South Africa or to increase electoral backing through programmes that target actual and potential party supporters during farm invasions and occupations in Zimbabwe.

How did the Government of Zimbabwe view the land reform programme and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in particular? Politically, the land reform programme was perceived as a vehicle that would enable the Government to attain peace and stability (Masiwa and Chipungu, 2004). Socially, the land reform programme was envisioned to redress the historical injustices and imbalances in the distribution of land between indigenous blacks and whites. Economically, the land reform programme was designed to improve agricultural productivity among the resettled families and bring unutilised land into production (Peters and Peters, 1998. While there was extensive underutilisation of large scale commercial farming land (Moyo, 1995b), there was growing agricultural productivity among small farmers. According to Deininger et al., (2002), this unutilised land was not offered on the market such that in addition to the efficiency and growth with equity reasons, an additional economic basis for land redistribution existed in Zimbabwe: to balance the marginal product of land across the two subsectors. Therefore if the land which was not utilised was given to women through loans or lease, women would be empowered economically and socially because they are the majority in Zimbabwe. Thus the concept of the empowerment through land ownership.

On the status of women in the land reform and resettlement programme, the government of Zimbabwe defied the principles in policy and practice. During the implementation of the fast track land reform programme there was no reference to any human rights in the policy document and the chaos and violence that characterized the implementation and the male and state approaches were discouraging the full participation of women. The institutional and administrative frameworks of beneficiary selection and land allocation during the land reform also made participation of women difficult. According to Ghosh (2010), they were only administrative arrangements that stated that women should be given land and these were forgone during the implementation process. Application for land was through local

government power structures which included chiefs and village headmen. These structures were manipulated by the government to select people who supported ZANU PF and mostly men since they are supposedly the head of household. The exercise of power by the government became infused with gender meaning Madhuku (2004). Moyo (1995) have noted that women were marginalized, as individuals, in land allocations because of the predominant criteria that assumed women would seek land within the family context. Thus, most married women and those belonging to the opposition parties could not all forward their applications. In addition, the reality that there are substantial members of female headed households which are poor as well was not fully comprehended. However, some women independently made applications and were considered in land allocation.

Though land allocation was needed, the land reform was largely politicized. Looking at the policy framework that has been highlighted above one can see that plan of distributing land was good but require a systematic execution measures and because of politics the whole programme was debatable (Deininger et al 2004). Political boundaries and isolated enemies were drawn by the government using land. It is also clear that there were no specific platforms for the inclusion of women in the land reform. There are few traces of gender considerations in the Land Reform and Resettlement Phase 2 (LRRP2) and the Inception Phase Framework Plan (IPFP) policy documents which the land reform should have been based on and in any case these so called gender policy considerations were lost during the implementation phase (Masiiwa and Chapungu 2004).

According to Madhuku (2004), the contribution of women was largely limited because of the political nature of the process and lack of commitment on the part of the government to mainstream gender in the land reform. It may not be that populist discourses of land reform are not in tandem with gender discourses, but it was a deliberate choice by a government seeking power. This power could be consolidated by courting the support of men through

land allocation thereby pushing women to the periphery. The discourses and narratives of land and land reform were masculinized during the land reform thus, the spaces for women participation diminished (Ghosh 2010). The approach taken by the government was such that political affiliation, race, marital status and classes acted as both challenges and opportunities for different women to participate. State-centric discourses and visions on land reform were gendered by promoting male privileges in access to and ownership of land, thus spaces for women diminished.

### **2.3 Access to and Control Over Land between Men and Women**

On the access to and control over land between men and women in resettlement areas, thus according to Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004), the legal framework governing access to, control and ownership of land has several inequities and allows for absolute discrimination when applied to the realities of women's lives. They mentioned the results of the Rukuni Commission (1994) which established that under freehold, women owned 2.3 per cent of the large scale commercial farms. In the communal areas, also Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004) observed that the Communal Land Act and Traditional Leaders Act impeded on gender mainstreaming in land ownership as women married and moved into the husband's home. This means that married women are not governed by the Acts. They further noted that married women's access to land was dependent on the subsistence of the marriage. According to Kunze et al., (1998), the rights of married women's access to land were compromised if the husband entered into a polygamous marriage as the same piece of land was shared between and amongst the co-wives.

Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004), use Women in Development (WID) approach to analyse both the legal and administrative policy framework governing women's land rights during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The Women in Development (WID) approach evolved in

the early 1970s from a liberal feminist framework and calls for greater attention to women in development policy and practice and emphasises the need to integrate them into the development process (Reeves and Baden, 2000). Chingarande's (2008) study on land and gender under the FTLRP involved literature survey of documents and reports on gender and land as well as in-depth interviews with key informants in women's organisations. She observed that both men and women benefited, although at different levels. In the A2 resettlement schemes, female-headed households constituted 11 per cent, male-headed households 86 per cent and joint registration constituted 3 per cent (GOZ, 2003 cited in Chingarande, 2008).

According to Chingarande (2008), women's side-lining in both A1 and A2 models was due to a number of structural and market forces (for example, lack of access to credit for the purchase of land particularly in the A2 model) and legislative and discriminatory cultural practices as well as the inconsistency between policy and practice in government land programmes. This corroborated findings by Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004) that women's rights to land were constrained by national administrative policies on land, local customs and laws governing land. Unlike Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004), Chingarande (2008) observes that lack of basic infrastructure such as access roads, clinics, service centres, clean water and schools affected women's decisions on resettlement. Chingarande (2008) acknowledged that while lack of proper coordination among NGOs meant that they could not constitute a strong constituency to influence government land policy during Phase I, there was more structured and coordinated effort by women's organisations in responding to gender issues in the land question from the mid-1990s. This shows that if women in rural lived in developed areas would have used their changes by getting land right and produce commercial on the land and also this would improve their house hold welfare as most of them will be the family bread winner.

(Chingarande 2008, Gaidzanwa 2011 and Mgugu and Chimonyo 2004) attributed women's marginalisation in land redistribution to customary law and practices. Moyo (1995b) refuted this narrow culturalistic perspective focusing on the patriarchal influences of the African custom as inadequate in terms of understanding the gendered aspects of the land problem in Zimbabwe. In his study of land and gender, Moyo (1995b) advocated for a critical examination of the power relations within families and clan structures which might indicate how class differentiation among women legitimised and defended culturally constructed land tenure processes which in turn disadvantaged women. Moyo (1995b) argued that the predominance of males as decision makers in institutions which influence land policy with regard to issues such as land markets, finance and local government has not been favourable to women's land struggles. According to Moyo (1995b) the male-centred registration of land rights in resettlement areas is a colonial legacy inherited and continued by the post-independence black government.

## **2.4 Conceptual Framework**

The researcher is going to use the concepts of Importance of Land Rights; Women Empowerment through Land Ownership and the rural development and Household Welfare. The first concept of importance of land rights explains that land should be given to people for them to farm on their own knowing the outputs will be under them. However these land rights should also be gender sensitive to accommodate women. According to Agarwal (2003) the benefits of land titling include: tenure security; increased access to credit as landowners can use their land as collateral; incentive effect where landowners will care more and invest more in their land and production efficiency. Meizen-Dick et al (2011) have shown that there could be negative distributional effects if the tenure reforms are not gender sensitive.

Another concept of Women Empowerment through Land Ownership, according to Agarwal 1994 women empowerment through land ownership can give them a strengthened status and ability to challenge structures of patriarchy within households and rural communities. In Rajasthan in India Agarwal 1994 found that land ownership provided widows with greater respect and consideration while Allendorf 2007 observed that women who owned land had final say in household decisions in Nepal. In this case in Zimbabwe women should have been given a larger role in the first phase of land reform and resettlement programme which is from 1980-1997 and the second phase which is from 1998-2002.

Rural Development and Household Welfare is another concept, according to Moyo 1995 land underpins the economic, social and political lives of the majority of people in Zimbabwe who depend on agriculture and natural resources for their social reproduction. About 67 per cent of the population derives direct livelihoods from agriculture these observations demonstrate the importance of land to household welfare in Zimbabwe. The distribution of land rights is important because it influences the bargaining power within households which in turn has distributional effects on the accruing benefits. From the historical approach, women have been marginalised from access to and control over land in Zimbabwe. This is despite the fact that a majority of women (86 per cent) lives in the rural areas where they constitute 61 per cent of the farmers and provide over 70 per cent of the agricultural labour force (Government of Zimbabwe 2000; Food and Agriculture Organisation, 2010a).

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter reviewed the literature available on the land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe. It explains on the historical perspective of gender and land ownership in Zimbabwe, the position of women and the access to and control over land between men and women. This chapter also puts forward the conceptual framework which includes the

concepts of Importance of Land Rights, of Women Empowerment through Land Ownership and that of Rural Development and Household Welfare to explain the importance of ownership of land by everyone. This chapter also helped to illustrate the significance of the study as it shows what have been researched thereby presenting the gap that exist in the published literature on the topic which the research aims to cover.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3. Introduction**

This chapter presents the research pattern, research methods and research design used to carry out the study. It explains the research design which was qualitative. The research sample and sampling procedures are also portrayed in this chapter. The research data collection methods, research data analysis is presented and ethical conducts during the research are also discussed in the chapter. Desk research was used where written documents from online journal articles, reports, newspaper articles and academic books were reviewed to get information on the land and resettlement programme in Zimbabwe. The researcher also relied on interviews and focus group discussions on the case study to gather data and information on data analysis conceptual analysis is used to examine the data of the study.

#### **3.1 Research design**

According to Kothari (2005), research design is the technical practice used to identify the research question, collect data and analyse the findings. Considering that there are various alternatives of research design, the purpose of this section is to select the type of study undertaken to provide acceptable answers to the research problem. Research design alternatives include case study, experimentation, surveys, grounded theory, ethnography, action research, modelling and operational research (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The nature of the research problem and that the research questions embedded qualitative research questions it was decided to select the survey data and case study research design alternatives as being the most appropriate for the study. Case study was used to explain the statement of the problem outlined in Chapter 1.

According to Boslaugh (2007), the survey data are secondary data sources already in existence. The researcher may select variables to use in their analysis from one secondary data source or may combine data from across sources to create new data set (Boslaugh, 2007). In this study, survey data collected by the African Institute for Agrarian Studies was used for the qualitative component of the study. Obtaining pre-existing data was quicker and cost effective. The survey data contained considerable breadth (Boslaugh, 2007), was appropriate for the study's unit of analysis and sampling. However, the survey data could not be controlled directly as the researcher did not participate in either the research design or data collection processes.

Perry, (2001) have described the case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon with its real life context. The qualitative component of the study was undertaken as a snapshot type of case where the objective was on understanding in detail beliefs, feelings and perspectives of farmers in Goromonzi District on the distribution of land rights between men and women. The case study was undertaken during the period December 2014 to February 2015 and involved a series of contacts and field trips to understand the nature of the distribution of land rights between men and women in resettlement areas.

Two sources of data were used in this study for the purposes of comparing and integrating findings. The main source of data for the study was a survey of the FTLRP undertaken by the African Institute of Agrarian Studies during the period November 2005 to December 2006. The African Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS) is a regional research organisation that focuses on influencing land and agrarian reform policies through multi-disciplinary social science research, policy dialogues, training and information dissemination. On technical support, AIAS has provided technical support to multilateral and regional agencies.

The survey of the FTLRP focused on the patterns of land allocations, land tenure, land use and production and labour relations from 2000 and the developing pattern of socio-economic differentiation and social reproduction in the newly redistributed areas (AIAS, 2009). In this study, the data of the survey was used as it captured the key variables required to estimate the gender asset gap and determine factors influencing the security of land rights in resettlement areas. The secondary source of data stemmed from the fieldwork undertaken by the researcher during the period, December 2014 to February 2015. The case data helped to better understand the survey data and gave insights into the FTLRP and the life of farmers.

### **3.2 Sample Selection**

According to Bryman (2001), a sample is a segment of the population that is selected for investigation. In this study, farmers constituted the population units. They are two sources of data for the study, two sampling unit were used that is a list of A1 farmers in Goromonzi District made up the sampling frame for the case study and the survey data from AIAS. Both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used. The baseline survey was undertaken between November 2005 and December 2006 and covered six districts in the provinces of Manicaland, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matabeleland South and Midlands (AIAS, 2009).

In this study, a purposive sample is selected in line with Miles and Huberman (1994) who argue that qualitative samples tend to be purposive rather than random because the universe is more limited and that much qualitative research examines single case, with some phenomenon embedded in a single social setting. According to Powell (1997), under purposive sampling, people or other units are chosen for a particular purpose implying the use of judgement on the part of the researcher. For the qualitative research component, this was the situation for this study with a focus on Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East

Province. Also Goromonzi District was selected on the basis that it was the only district without resettlement areas prior to the FTLRP (GOZ, 2003). As the survey data has information on the resettlement of six provinces the case study will provide information on the A1 commercial farmers.

A multi-stage random sampling method was used due to the wide nature of the study area. First, Mashonaland East Province was conveniently and purposively selected out of the eight provinces with A1 farms. Two study sites, Bains Hope and Ingwenya Farm were randomly selected from a list of former LSCFs that were partitioned into A1 farms under the FTLRP. The rationale was that A1 farmers are not an identical group and hence a more representative sample could be obtained through the sampling technique. Simple random sampling was used for the selection of households in the district.

### **3.3 Data collection methods**

Data collection involved planning, implementation, the process of gathering data and analysis Njaya (2013). Given that the researcher was involved in the fieldwork and talked some to A1 farmers (both men and women) and key informants in the case study area, this generated stories about gender relations on land in A1 resettlement areas. This served as good supplements to data analysis and more specifically assisted in illustrating the results in Chapter Four. Four data collection techniques were used: interviews (semi-structured), focus groups, observation and document analysis. This multi-method approach to data collection was part of an overall approach to improving the quality and validity of case data through triangulation (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008; Saunders et al., 2009). Instead, the methods were complementary to each other and where possible, they were used in cycle in order to give an in-depth understanding of gender relations on access to and control over land in land

resettlement areas in Zimbabwe. The four data collection methods used to collect case data are explored in detail below.

### **3.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews are in-depth interviews which involve open-ended questions (Paton, 2002) and use wide exploratory issues to get the respondents to express detailed beliefs and feelings on a topic (Muranda, 2004). The interviewee allowed options to take different paths and explore different thoughts or feelings as long as they are within what the interviewer wants to cover (Saunders et al., 2009). Semi-structured interviews were designed for use with the key informants. At the district level, key informant interviews were held with the District Administrator and District Lands Officer. At the local level, the key informants included the village headwoman (Bains Hope), village headman (Ingwenya Farm), three members of the Committee of Seven (Ingwenya Farm) and one farm worker (Bains Hope). Local level in-depth interviews enriched the study with the details on how plot beneficiaries were selected and any challenges encountered. Any further questions related to specific issues arising from the discussion were added during the interviews.

### **3.3.2 Focus Groups**

According to Muranda (2004), a focus group is a small group of 6-12 people selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research under the guidance of a moderator. Compared to observation, Gibbs (1997) notes that focus groups enable a researcher to gain a larger amount of information in a shorter period of time. In this study, focus groups were used to gather a

multiplicity of opinions, beliefs, experiences and attitudes about the distribution of land rights between men and women in A1 resettlement areas.

Morgan and Kuerger (1993) argue that focus groups are particularly useful when there are power differences between the participants and decision makers, when the everyday use of the language and culture of particular groups is of interest and when one wants to explore the degree of consensus on a given topic. However, focus groups are difficult to assemble, may not be easy to get a representative sample, may discourage certain people from participating (especially those who are not confident), may discourage some people from trusting others with sensitive or personal information (Gibbs, 1997) and are expensive to put together (Muranda, 2004).

In this study, focus group participants were grouped by sex: males only and females only because each group experienced land gender relations differently. Separating participants according to sex was intended to encourage free participation as each assembled group shared homogenous characteristics (Morgan, 1988 cited in Gibbs, 1997; Muranda, 2004). A focus group consisting of six women was conducted in Bains Hope while a focus group with five men was conducted in Ingwenya Farm. The participants refused to have the discussion recorded.

### **3.3.3 Observation**

Observation is a valuable data collection technique within a case study setting (Saunders et al., 2009) and complements interviews and focus groups. Given that observations covered events in real time and were relative, this practice generated insight and better understanding of gender relations on land through evidence such as social characteristics and material and spiritual culture of the people. The researcher observed the physical settings and socio-economic livelihood processes taking place on A1 settlements. When observing one gets the

first hand information and it is based of the researchers view on the selected sample. It also minimises bias as information is not from the people being observed as they may give wrong information on a certain topic.

### **3.3.4 Document Analysis**

The collection of documents is another valuable method used to collect field data in a case study (Saunders et al., 2009). In this study, secondary data was used to formulate the research agenda, develop the conceptual framework and to analyse the results of the study. The researcher obtained various secondary documentation on the FTLRP in the form of reports and publications from the Government of Zimbabwe, donors (such as SIDA, UNDP and World Bank) and NGOs which focus on women and land (such as WLZ and ZWRCN), books and journal articles. The baseline survey on the FTLRP by the African Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS) provided the critical raw data which also assisted in the design of the scope of the study. The major strength of documentation is that it is stable since the data has been there before the study (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 2001). Documentation may also suffer reporting bias (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The validity of the documents used in this study was carefully reviewed in order to avoid incorrect data from being included in the study. After presenting the data collection, the following section provides approaches to data analysis.

### **3.3.5 Data Analysis**

In this study, various issues from the interviews and the secondary data sources were summarised and organised according to the following concepts: experiences with the FTLRP; perceptions on gender relations on land; household conflicts land. Thus conceptual analysis was used to analyse the data of the study. The classification of the data of the research was

based on the researcher's judgement in terms of the importance of these issues with respect to the research argument developed in the research.

The data was then categorised into specific categories which were identified that helped to classify data into meaningful groups. The third stage was the interpretation of documents, responses to interviews and observations for specific meanings related to the case. The identification of patterns and concepts was the fourth stage of data analysis in a case study setting. All the data gathered was examined for concepts and patterns in relation to gender relations on land and were interpreted within the setting of A1 resettlement schemes. The other stage was the overall combination of case data in to concepts that helped to make conclusions. The process of analysing data involved editing, coding, data entry, actual analysis of concepts and data interpretation.

### **3.4 Ethical Considerations**

Bryman (2001), propounds that, ethical considerations should be borne in mind whenever research is conducted with participants. In this research, consideration was given to four major ethical issues. The research identified the key determinants of land rights and highlighted the gender asset gap in A1 resettlement areas and the importance of individual land rights. Second, the research did not cause any harm to the participants and considered them as worthy partners. Third, the research acknowledged personal belief and values (Ewles and Simnett, 1999) and provided all A1 farmers within the study area with equal opportunity to participate. Informed consent was the fourth issue and it covered other ethical issues such as confidentiality. Informed approval provided the potential participant with vital information about the research which helped their decision about whether to participate. In this study, no names were used and instead non-identifying codes or fictitious names were used to refer to



participants, where necessary, thus making it impossible for any reader to identify the interviewees.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

The chapter described various options available for the implementation of the research and the logic for the selection of specific research pattern, approach, strategy and methods applied in this study. The research used qualitative data in most of its presentations. The overall methodology was one based on realistic philosophy. The study employed the case study and used a combination of data sampling, collection and analysis methods.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS**

#### **4. Introduction**

This chapter presents and analyses the research findings of the survey data from the African Institute of Agrarian Studies and findings from the case study conducted in Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province. The first section provides research findings of the study areas. The second section presents the data presentation and analysis of the research and also the survey data and case study data is analysed using descriptions and interpretation of concepts.

#### **4.1 Research Findings**

The primary purpose of the case study was to give an in-depth insight into the processes of the FTLRP and understand the lived experiences of A1 farmers. Also it was designed to understand the perceptions of A1 farmers as regards to the distribution of land rights between men and women.

##### **4.1.1 Land occupation patterns in Goromonzi District**

Like in all other districts in Zimbabwe, widespread land occupations in Goromonzi District in February 2000 after the rejection of the Draft Constitution in a referendum. Marongwe (2008) reports that by March 2000, about 16 LSCFs had been occupied and the number kept on increasing as the land occupations intensified. The Government announced the official launch of the FTLRP in July 2000. This was supported by an A1 farmer in Goromonzi district E1 who was asked by the researcher how he became aware of the land reform programme. The farmer responded that

*“It was called as a party meeting and we went in numbers as usual and the chairperson of the party addressed us the issues of land redistribution and we agreed before it was launched in July. We already had A1 farms then we collected offer letters when it was officially launched by the government in July 2000.”*

The declaration was meant to formalise and allow the government to regularise the haphazard farm occupations and settlement.

Of the 257 LSCFs in Goromonzi District, 243 were gazetted for resettlement (GOZ, 2003). Out of these, 76 LSCFs were delisted for various reasons including being indigenous-owned or dairy farms or farms protected under bilateral investment promotion and protection agreements. However, on the ground even conservancies, dairy farms and farms protected under bilateral investment promotion and protection agreements were not spared from compulsory acquisition under the FTLRP.

The FTLRP changed land tenure systems from private land holdings to state land and a change in ownership patterns from white commercial farmers to indigenous blacks. This was supported by respondent E2 to the interview question has your asset holding increased as a result of the FTLRP, she responded that:

*“Asset holding increased as we have the 99year lease of the offer letter, the latter has the security to our land as no one can remove us from our A1 farms as long as we have the offer letter.”*

Two models of settlement were introduced under the FTLRP: A1 and A2 models. The land tenure in A1 village model is similar to communal areas consisting of designated cultivation area for each household and a common grazing area. In A1 self-contained units, farmers settle in self- contained plots (or farms) that can be used for crop cultivation and livestock-

rearing. Model A2 was aimed at creating small, medium and large scale black indigenous commercial farmers (GOZ, 2003) and to de-racialise the commercial agricultural subsector (UNDP, 2002).

The land redistribution programme significantly changed land rights, access rights and their administration. This was so as supported by E3 who responded to the interview by the researcher:

*“Land rights are now stable because we have been issued temporary title deeds to the land which is the offer letter. The government has given us the 99years to do whatever we want with the land, so we are safe.”*

According to Government policy, the land tenure system under A1 self-contained units and A2 farms offered each family a 99-year lease with the option to purchase (GOZ, 2001). In addition, the policy explicitly stated that the land leases and title deeds for married couples should be in both spouses' names (ibid). With regard to A1 villagised model, the Rural District Council is required to prepare a land use plan for each village and to issue a settlement permit to the head of the household. Section 24(4) of the Communal Lands Act (1982) allows each settlement permit to bear the names of both spouses (GOZ, 2001). In addition, unmarried women, divorcees and widows who are heads of households can have permits in their names as can child-headed households. Both A1 and A2 schemes are untitled and farmers have offer letters as evidence and a guarantee of security for their access to land (UNDP, 2002).

#### **4.1.2 Gender Composition of Land Beneficiaries in A1 Schemes**

The FTLRP did not only lead to a new agrarian structure in the form of A1 and A2 models but also created a new regime of gender relations on land. In particular, women in different

categories of marital status (married, widowed, divorced and single) were allocated land in their own right. The Government of Zimbabwe introduced a permit system for A1 farms and leasehold tenure for A2 farms in 2006. The permit and lease are registered in the names of both spouses (in the case of married couples). In the event of permit disposal, the husband or wife is required to seek written consent of the other party before the disposal can be legally recognised (AIAS, 2009). This clearly shows that land rights in resettlement areas are qualitatively different from those bestowed to peasants in the communal areas. In the communal areas patriarchy still predominates and land is allocated to the father or eldest male in the household (Makura-Paradza, 2010). Women have secondary land rights obtained through their relationship with male family members (Walker, 2002; FAO, 2010b) and they risk losing entitlements in case of divorce, widowhood or their husbands' migration (FAO, 2010b). Women's inheritance rights over land are also limited as property devolves along the male line (FAO, 2010c).

#### **4.1.3 Summary of the Findings from the Case Study**

The data were summarised and organised according to these concepts: background of A1 farmers; perceptions and experiences with the FTLRP; perceptions and beliefs on gender relations on land. The answers to the questions asked revealed how gender relations on land were organised and what roles and responsibilities were assigned to each member of the household that embraces land rights between men and women. These findings were mapped order to identify factors that influenced land rights in land reform and resettlement programme in Zimbabwe.

#### **4.1.4 Description of Survey Data**

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the household data were collected during the AIAS (2005-2006) national survey of the outcomes of the FTLRP. The key research questions addressed

by the baseline survey included land distribution and allocation, the (in)security of land tenure, the efficacy of land use and production, natural resource use, farm labour and social differentiation and agrarian restructuring (AIAS, 2009). The data were collected from 2,089 individual farming households in A1 and A2 schemes (AIAS, 2009).

The survey was extensive as it tried to capture the different aspects and effects of the FTLRP. Geographically, the survey covered six districts from six different provinces. Zimbabwe is sub-divided into ten administrative provinces, namely Bulawayo, Harare, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Midlands. Two of the provinces, Bulawayo and Harare, are metropolitan areas and did not have large scale commercial farms. These two provinces and the provinces of Mashonaland Central and Matabeleland North were not part of the survey.

The sample size for each sampled district averaged 15 percent of the total population of the district which is considered statistically representative of the sampled area (AIAS, 2009). Of special importance to this study, the data were collected from individual farming households and contained key intra-household and extra-household variables that influenced land rights in A1 schemes. These variables included marital status, size of the household, level of education of the farm holder and spouse, sex of the farm holder, size of arable area, soil type and/or quality, method of farm acquisition and training in agriculture.

An inspection of the original baseline survey data showed that there were variations in the composition of the different farming households interviewed by AIAS and some observations were missing. The missing observations were due to errors during the initial data collection or from data entry into the SPSS spreadsheets. The 433 households from A2 schemes were removed from the sample survey because the focus of the study was the distribution of land

between men and women in A1 schemes. The remaining sample survey contained 1,656 A1 villagised and A1 self-contained households.

## **4.2 Data Presentation and Data Analysis**

### **4.2.1 Characteristics of Access and Control of Land between Men and Women**

The first research question was aimed at establishing if women were discriminated against during the FTLRP. To the contrary, the findings from the case study conducted in Goromonzi District did not show evidence of discrimination against married women under the FTLRP. In the case study, 83.8 per cent confirmed that there was equal access to and control over land in A1 resettlement areas between men and women and that there was no discrimination in the allocation of land.

This researcher also found in Goromonzi District that there was an overall trend where women tended to obtain more rights to land through two avenues: obtaining land as individuals in their own right and through the joint registration of offer letters with their husbands. For example, in Bains Hope there were more female land beneficiaries than males. Out of the 57 A1 farmers in Bains Hope, 33 were women. Out of these, 20 were married women who were allocated land in their own right. The fact that spouses jointly possessed land in resettlement areas meant that married women's position in terms of land access had improved compared to their counterparts in communal areas where access is through their husbands or male relatives. This observation was supported by Makura-Paradza, (2010). The number of jointly registered offer letters was very low in the data from Goromonzi District. In Goromonzi District, jointly registered offer letters constituted 8.1 per cent. The low numbers of jointly registered offer letters was attributed to three factors. First, there was no adequate awareness among land beneficiaries on the Government policy on joint registration of offer letters for married couples. The people in Goromonzi District were not aware of this

policy. The second reason was the strength of patriarchy in the Zimbabwean society. In Goromonzi District, it was found that where the wife was allocated land she would jointly register the farm holding with the husband but this was not the case with a majority of men who registered the plots in their own names. The third factor was attributed to the structure of the offer letter itself. The offer letter has a section for Plot Holder only and not Plot Holder(s) which hopefully could have “encouraged” married partners to put both names on the farm document.

#### **4.2.2 The Security of Women Land Rights in Zimbabwe**

The second research question sought to establish the determinants of women’s land rights in Zimbabwe. Suggestions were used to see the security of women’s land rights. These suggestions were that married women obtain land rights through joint registration of offer letters with their husbands. Household factors influencing the security of women’s land rights were identified from relevant literature and the researcher’s own observations. The results of analysis showed that household factors such as marital status, age of spouse, age of the household head, and size of the household had no impact on the choice of landholding category. If marital status did not explain land holding in A1 schemes, it meant that married women could access land in their own right. This was supported by findings in Bains Hope where 20 out of the 33 female land beneficiaries were married women. There were 57 A1 farmers in Bains Hope.

About 10.8 per cent of the land beneficiaries in Goromonzi District were married women with offer letters in their names. Among female land beneficiaries, married women constituted 16 per cent. This showed that married women lagged behind unmarried women in accessing land in resettlement areas. As noted above, more married women hold land in their names than unmarried women in Bains Hope, probably due to the closeness of the



resettlement scheme to Harare and the gender composition of war veterans (one male and three females) who spearheaded the occupation of the farm in 2000.

#### **4.2.3 Land Rights Comparison between Men and Women in Zimbabwe**

The third research question was aimed at establishing if women had the same land rights as men in Zimbabwe. The results from evidence from Goromonzi District showed that women beneficiaries of the FTLRP obtained the same land rights as men in terms of land use patterns. The land use patterns focused on the mean sizes of arable land allocated to men and women and the predominant type and/or quality of soil on the A1 farm holdings.

However, there is no denying that more men than women benefitted under the FTLRP. Zimbabwe is a predominantly patriarchal society where most households are headed by males. A number of studies have shown that more men than women were allocated land under the A1 model (Chingarande, 2008; Gaidzanwa, 2011; GOZ, 2003; Pasura, 2010; ZWRCN, 2008). The Utete Report (2003) shows that less than 20 percent female-headed households were allocated land under the FTLP for the different provinces in Zimbabwe. The use of a household as the beneficiary unit was based on the unitary agricultural household model. According to the unitary agricultural household model, an altruistic head ensures equitable allocations of goods and tasks (Becker, 1981 cited in Agarwal, 2003) in order to maximise household utility.

Two suggestions were used to answer research question three. The first suggestion sought to measure gender asset gap in terms of the mean sizes of arable land cultivated by men and women in A1 resettlement areas. There was no evidence of gender asset gap in A1 schemes when using the mean sizes of arable land being cultivated by men and women. The result was presented by evidence in Goromonzi District where women's and men's arable plots were of equal size. The sizes of arable plots were determined by the Government and varied between

provinces depending on the agro-ecological region. In the communal areas, the average size of women's landholdings is 1.86 hectares compared with 2.73 hectares for men (Doss et al., 2008). These findings showed that women in A1 schemes did not only have access to bigger arable plots than their counterparts in the communal areas but even those in the rest of Africa. Based on the findings from the case study, this suggestion was rejected since the mean sizes of arable land for men and women were statistically equal.

The second suggestion which is that gender differentials with respect to soil type and/or quality in land allocation. This was supported by evidence from Goromonzi District. For those successful applicants, plots were allocated through a random process which made it "impossible" to discriminate between men and women based on the predominant soil type on the farm holding. According to Feder et al., (1998), soil types differ among farmers which further diminished chances of discrimination.

The distribution of land rights between men and women mirrored the distribution of assets, division of labour and decision making within households. Observed evidence from the case study showed that a spouse's bargaining power could be enhanced through access to and control over land. This was demonstrated by joint decisions in the acquisition and disposal of both household and productive assets and consultative processes on key agricultural activities and utilisation of the income derived from the agricultural enterprise. Testimonies by women in the two study sites depicted an improvement in their socio-economic status and food security as well as improved sense of dignity. In the study area, 54.1 percent of the respondents indicated that both husband and wife made joint decisions to acquire and/or dispose of productive assets. This was because both spouses contributed to the agricultural enterprise in different ways. About 37.8 percent of the respondents indicated that women were directly involved in the marketing of agricultural products and had considerable

influence on the use of the income. This demonstrated that income from agriculture had value in changing gender roles and relations in the household and probably the whole community.

From document analysis and fieldwork in Goromonzi District, the allocation of arable plots was random and hence there was no discrimination between male and female beneficiaries. In the study sites, 84 percent of the women interviewed indicated that the distribution of land rights between men and women was equal in Goromonzi District. The women respondents explained that men and women were allocated plots in the same area without regard to marital status or sex. The foregoing discussion showed that men and women were given the same land rights in Zimbabwe in terms of land use patterns when the mean sizes of arable land and predominant soil type are used as parameters.

### **4.3 Chapter Summary**

The chapter provided the case study which provided complementary evidence to the main qualitative analysis. It showed that women were not discriminated against and enjoyed the same land rights as men. It also presented that household factors such as social assets had significant effect on land distribution in resettlement areas in Zimbabwe. The chapter also presented evidence that the allocation of arable plots was random and hence there was no discrimination between male and female beneficiaries.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5. Introduction**

This chapter in its first section gives a summary of the research. Conclusions to the research are provided in second section of the chapter. The research's recommendations are presented in the third section of the chapter. The last section presents the suggestions for further research.

#### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

##### **5.1.1 Characteristics of Land Access and Control between Men and Women.**

From the survey data and evidence from the research in Goromonzi District, the researcher found that women obtained more rights individually and together with their husbands through joint registration of offer letters although obtaining rights through the second avenue was minimal. This was because there was little awareness of the government policy on joint registration of offer letters by married partners. The policy on joint registration of offer letters was popularised in 2003 after most farmers had already been issued with the farm documents. Secondly, the design of the offer letter did not promote joint registration of A1 landholdings by married partners. The offer letter has a section for a plot holder not plot holder(s).

However, the fact that spouses jointly possessed land in resettlement areas meant that married women's position in terms of land access had improved. Although more women accessed land through the above avenues, the researcher found that overall, more men than women were allocated land under the FTLRP. This was attributed to a number of factors including household division of labour where women remained behind in the communal areas looking after children, the elderly and livestock while men occupied commercial farms.

### **5.1.2 Land Rights between Men and Women**

The land rights between men and women were also not equally distributed among the different provinces. These provincial variations in the distribution of land between men and women could be attributed to a number of factors: the predominant method of land acquisition used in the province; the demographic composition of war veterans spearheading land occupations in the province; proximity of the resettlement scheme to urban areas; predominant ethnic group(s) in the province and the strength of socio-cultural institutions in the province. Mashonaland East and Midlands provinces had the highest number of jointly registered offer letters according to the survey data (AIAS, 2006).

From the fieldwork in Goromonzi District, the allocation of arable plots was random and hence there was no discrimination between male and female beneficiaries. In the study sites, women respondents explained that men and women were allocated plots in the same area without regard to marital status or sex. This shows that men and women were given the same land rights in Zimbabwe in terms of land use patterns when the mean sizes of arable land and predominant soil type are used as parameters.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

### **5.2.1 Women were not neglected under the FTLRP**

For the first proposition, there was no evidence that women were discriminated against under the FTLRP. Instead, there was a modest increase in women's rights to land through three avenues: as individuals, joint registration of offer letters with their husbands and inheritance. The fact that married women in resettlement areas had access to land through joint registration of offer letters with their husbands showed that their land rights were qualitatively different from those of their counterparts in the communal areas where married

women have secondary rights to land through their husbands. Women enjoyed the same land rights as men in A1 resettlement schemes. The study did not find discrimination against women in the distribution of land rights when the predominant type of soil on the farm holding was used as the parameter. This was because for successful applicants, the allocation of A1 plots was through a random process.

### **5.2.2 Elements of Security of Women's Land Rights**

The second and third propositions pursued to establish the determinants of the security of women's land rights in A1 schemes. The study found that household factors (marital status, level of education, household size, age of household head and number of males or females in each household) were not significant determinants of women's land rights in land resettlement schemes. Social assets were a strong determinant of women's land rights in A1 resettlement areas. This was attributed to the political environment under which the FTLRP was undertaken. The provincial variations in the number of women allocated land under the FTLRP can be attributed to a number of factors: the predominant method of land acquisition used in the province; the demographic composition of war veterans spearheading land occupations in the province; proximity of the resettlement scheme to urban areas; predominant ethnic group(s) in the province and the strength of socio-cultural institutions in the province. A study of each province would be required to unravel the underlying factors for the differential land distribution patterns by sex.

### **5.2.3 Closing Gender Asset Gap in Access to Land**

The researcher did not find evidence of gender asset gap in access to and control over arable lands in resettlement schemes in connection with the average arable area allocated to men and women. However, there is no denying that more men than women benefitted under the FTLRP because the government used the household as the beneficiary unit. Although this

approach provided female members of the household with access to land, it undermined their bargaining power because Zimbabwe is a predominantly patriarchal society where most households are headed by males. Given that the distribution of land rights between men and women reflected the distribution of assets, division of labour and decision-making within households, evidence from Goromonzi District depicted an improvement in women's socio-economic status. Although the gendered relations of production still shaped the division of labour within households, women had equal status in decision-making on crop production. The above findings provide useful information to policy makers on how to address the complex issues related to gender, household welfare and poverty reduction, women empowerment and agricultural development.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.3.1 Access To and Control of Land between Men and Women in Zimbabwe**

The collection of individual level asset ownership data is important for evaluating and understanding how benefits of development programmes are shared between men and women, so this should be considered before carrying out an activity of asset distribution or sharing. Allocation of land under the land reform should focus on individuals within households' when being implemented. This requires clear mechanisms during the land reform programme design, planning and appraisal to ensure equitable beneficial distribution between men and women.

Legal recognition of dual-headed households in any asset redistribution programmes like land reform, privatisation and economic empowerment. This requires joint registration of family land in the names of spouses and all dependent children. The offer letter should have a section for Plot Holder(s) which would encourage land beneficiaries to put names of both spouses on the farm document.

### **5.3.2 The Advocacy of Women Land Rights in Zimbabwe**

Training on gender analysis and participatory gender planning should be carried out at all levels of government for those directly involved in the design, planning and implementation of the land reform programme this will help in including both sexes in asset distribution in the country. The training should also involve community development officers. Methods should be devised to inform women about their land rights and the avenues through which these rights can be enforced. These awareness and sensitisation activities would be effective and even more if they involve men. There is need for effective women representation in district and village land committees.

### **5.4 Future Research Directions**

Offer letters provide security to women's land rights during the subsistence of the marriage. It might be interesting to know if the offer letter would guarantee women's land rights in the event of divorce, abandonment of the husband. Related to this is the distribution of land in polygamous marriages. What are the rights of the individual spouses in polygamy? The offer letter protects land rights of a maximum of two wives and three legitimate children and is silent on how the farm holding should be distributed to the widows in the event of the death of the husband. Another area that needs further research is the impact of off-farm residence of A1 farmers on agricultural production and investment. By completing this study, the researcher has not addressed this objective due to the unavailability of data. Further research may be undertaken towards finding out if women have less access to irrigation than men. Were some women discriminated along political lines? Further research will be required to confirm or refute such discrimination. The researcher hopes that the evaluation of the distribution of assets including land would be just the beginning and constitutes a basis for further related research in terms of its contributions and insights.



## **5.5 Chapter summary**

The chapter provided a summary of the main findings and overall conclusion of the study. The study showed that the distribution of land under the FTLRP was not gender-based. The chapter also presented specific policy recommendations on women empowerment through land reform and future research directions.

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## **Appendix A Interview Guide**

### **Ana Analysis on the Role of Women in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme in Zimbabwe**

My name is Edward Tinashe Mashanda I am student at the Midlands State University and pursuing a Bachelor of Science Honours degree in Politics and Public Management. I am carrying out a research on the analysis on the Role of Women in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme and Goromonzi district being the case study. I would appreciate if you take your time to respond to these questions. I undertake not to disclose any information considered confidential and the identity of each participant shall remain anonymous and they will be solely used for the purposes of this study.

1. How did u become aware of the fast track land reform programme?
2. What was your main occupation before being allocated this farm holding?
3. Has your asset-holding increased as a result of the fast track land reform programme?
5. Any other information you may wish to provide in relation to the FTLRP?

**Thank you for your cooperation**



## **Appendix B Focus Group Discussion Guide**

1. Should there be individual rights between men and women?
2. Do you think men and women have equal access to and control over land in A1 resettlement areas?
3. In your view, what should be done to promote gender equality in access to and control over land?
5. Any other information you may wish to provide in relation to land rights between men and women.

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## **Appendix A Interview Guide**

### **Ana Analysis on the Role of Women in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme in Zimbabwe**

My name is Edward Tinashe Mashanda I am student at the Midlands State University and pursuing a Bachelor of Science Honours degree in Politics and Public Management. I am carrying out a research on the analysis on the Role of Women in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme and Goromonzi district being the case study. I would appreciate if you take your time to respond to these questions. I undertake not to disclose any information considered confidential and the identity of each participant shall remain anonymous and they will be solely used for the purposes of this study.

1. How did u become aware of the fast track land reform programme?
2. What was your main occupation before being allocated this farm holding?
3. Has your asset-holding increased as a result of the fast track land reform programme?
5. Any other information you may wish to provide in relation to the FTLRP?

**Thank you for your cooperation**



## **Appendix B Focus Group Discussion Guide**

1. Should there be individual rights between men and women?
2. Do you think men and women have equal access to and control over land in A1 resettlement areas?
3. In your view, what should be done to promote gender equality in access to and control over land?
5. Any other information you may wish to provide in relation to land rights between men and women.